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these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatane* and *wakawowine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*fo*) controls a section of land (*kauta*) of indeterminate

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[421 613 423 311] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon (*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the taro beds and reserve lands owned by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai* to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach. [414] The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land. The *kaus* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *po* i Tua. The names of these divisions (*se kaua i te tuua lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiana, Te Welo-i-te-kilikili, Te Auma. Four divisions (*se kaua i te tuua ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipule *po*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wale-kaiala, Te Welo, Te Pupua.

[341] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognise none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 613 241 427 The coconut trees, taro beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 613 692 Each section (*kaua*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named *yikuanga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in general, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the sections on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or taro beds or be said to own house sites on the lots.

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Informants stated that in former days there were fewer canoes than today. A tapu (*lavi*) for protecting a canoe tree was instituted by making four cuts on the bole of a tree, about 6 feet from the ground. Most canoes, especially the large ones, were the property of the paternal lineage groups, each of which might own from one to three canoes. As the canoes belonged to the corporate entity, no problem of inheritance arose.

The ownership of nut trees has already been mentioned. Like trees in the reserves, individually owned trees are protected by a tapu of a coconut midrib. *Pukama* trees are also individually owned and are very valuable in that the leaves provide the best plant material for fertilizing (*wakalepo*) the talo beds. *Pukama* and coconut trees are planted over the buried afterbirth of the new-born child along the boundaries of homestead lots. Individual control of *pukama* trees is carefully guarded. During the season for mulching (*wakalepo*) the talo, it is not uncommon for two women to enter into physical encounters over rights to *pukama* trees which both claim to control.

Individual named talo beds (*ui tangata taki tai*)—twenty-two in all on Wale (see pl. 1, *A*)—are inherited in the male line, or according to bequest. They have been excavated and named by individuals in the past. Some of the names of owners, as given by informants, refer to living people, others to the original makers of the beds, one or more generations back. Few Ngake talo beds remain on Wale; most private beds were situated close to the old site of Ngake village at Utupoa, and were destroyed by the tidal wave that overwhelmed the village in 1914. The beds were filled in with sand, and have since been planted with nuts; new talo beds are being excavated now on Motu Ko.

Inheritance of other items of personal property is according to rule or by right of bequest (*wakawiti*). When an individual dies, much of his property—adzes, pearl-shell hooks and ornaments, malos, sleeping mats—is buried with him. If he dies intestate, all that remains after the survivors have fulfilled the last duties to the deceased is divided among the children, blood and adopted. When an individual has made a bequest before death, his property is divided accordingly. Fear of retribution by the spirit of the deceased if the terms of the bequest are not strictly carried out insures that the last wishes of the dying man will be fulfilled.

The house is generally inherited by children or paternal male relatives of the deceased. Two exceptions in which the house was inherited by the wife of the deceased came to light in the census.

In one household in Yato, the mother is a Loto woman, twice married. Her first marriage was with a Yato man, and residence was patrilocal. When her husband died, the widow inherited the house and occupied it in Yato. When she remarried, her second husband came from Ngake to live with her in this house. In a household in Ngake, a widow and her children continue to reside in the deceased husband's house. The widow is referred to as the owner of the house, but since her children are young,

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she may perhaps best be considered temporary owner until her children are old enough to control the house for themselves.

In theory, the adopted child inherits only from his adopted parents. If it should happen that the adopted child is the only child or the only surviving child of his blood parents, by arrangement he may also share in the coconut lands and other property of his blood parents.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

Division of Labor

The division of labor is based primarily on sex, and to a minor degree on age. Table 2 shows the division of work between men and women. The division is fairly rigid in the sense that it is rare for a woman to go deep-sea fishing, or for a man to have much to do with taro preparation.

Table 2. Division of Labor

Work of Men	Work of Women	Joint Work
Fishing for all fish	Beach angling, lagoon grouping, shell fishing	Torch fishing (occasionally)
Bird snaring Canoe building Making of mats, implements, nets, weapons, artifacts, ornaments		
Building house framework House thatching		Making roof sheets of coconut or pandanus
	Plaiting of mats, mats, etc. Planting, cultivation and harvesting of taro	Plaiting of rough baskets and platters Fertilizing of taro beds Excavation of taro beds
Preparation of pigs for cooking	Cooking of taro, pigs, fish	Water carrying Care of pigs and fowls
Making of food divisions		
Gathering and husking of nuts	Gathering of nuts by young girls (occasionally)	
	Husking of mature nuts Domestic household duties	Training and care of children
Control and guarding of reserves	Guarding of reserve (Lotc; modern)	
Political and priestly duties		
Practice of medicine	Practice of medicine (occasionally)	

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-vatu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wanau* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pane*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te *yikuanga* a nono i te ngutuwale o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the private house of So-and-so). The word *ngutuwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *ngutuwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katiki*, *mataiuga*, or *pokipoki*. *Katiki* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives.

To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

Membership in a village (*iulu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Generally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuunga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuunga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 305.)

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The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

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In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuunga tau* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*uasi tuunga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

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The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

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The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

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A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuunga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuunga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

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The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contact teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *uilo* of the

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a weakling, he asked a powerful friend to wrestle for him. If one woman slandered another, the injured party followed the other to the bush where she tried to beat her with a stick, or else fought her with her hands, trying to tear out her hair or otherwise pain her. Sometimes the injured woman tried to seduce the husband of the slanderer. If she succeeded, she publicly humiliated the slanderer by announcing that she had seduced the man, telling also the reason why.

Today, the Cook Islands Act has superseded old-time law. The talo beds and the reserves, however, are still administered by the guard, which levies fines on those caught stealing. One day during our stay, the women's guard from Loto came en masse to Yato and accused a Yato woman of stealing talo from Uta. The Yato woman confessed, and was immediately fined six *uto* nuts or three pennies. She handed over the nuts, and all were satisfied. In their report to the village each night, the guards mention the names of persons who have trespassed on reserve lands.

THE HOUSEHOLD

The native definition of a household is that group of people which use the same cook house. Three households (households 8, 44, 49) described by informants constitute variations on this pattern. (See table 5 and p. 249.)

The number of sleep houses all grouped together on the same lot and occupied by the same household unit depends on the size of the household. Where there are several sleep houses the parent or parents and unmarried children, blood or adopted, sleep in one house; a further grouping occurs in terms of relationship, age grades, and personal choice. A married son or daughter generally sleeps with his family in a separate house.

Composition

The relationships of the persons making up individual households studied is shown in table 5. The 54 households of Ngake and Yato give 38 distinct groupings of kin:

Ten households are composed of mother, father, and children. Seven households are composed of mother, father, and adopted children. Two households are composed of mother and children, mother in household 16 being a widow, and in household 41, a divorcée.

The biological family of mother, father, and children is the basis of the composition of 27 of the 54 households. In 13 households, mother, father, and adopted children is the basic unit. In only six households does the combination of father, mother, children, and adopted children occur.

Outside these groups, the most common household member is the son's wife. One son's wife and one daughter's husband (household 8) have, with their children, remained in residence with their father-in-law though their mates are deceased. It is further noteworthy that these two, the (deceased) son's wife and the (deceased) daughter's husband, are brother and sister. No explanation of their residence was given by infor-

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(a)

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Household No.	1 A.	2 M	3 C	4 M.C	5 Son's Wife	6 Son's Wife's Ch	7 Son's Wife's Ch	8 Son's Ch	9 Dr. Son	10 Dr. C	11 Son's Wife	12 Son's Ch	13 Ps	14 Ps	15 Ps
1	+	+	+		+										
2	+	+	+	+				+		+					
3	+	+	+	+					+						
4	+	+		+											
5	+	+	+	+					+						
6	+	+	+												
7	+	+		+											
8	+		+		+			+	+	+					
9	+	+													
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50	+			+							+	+			
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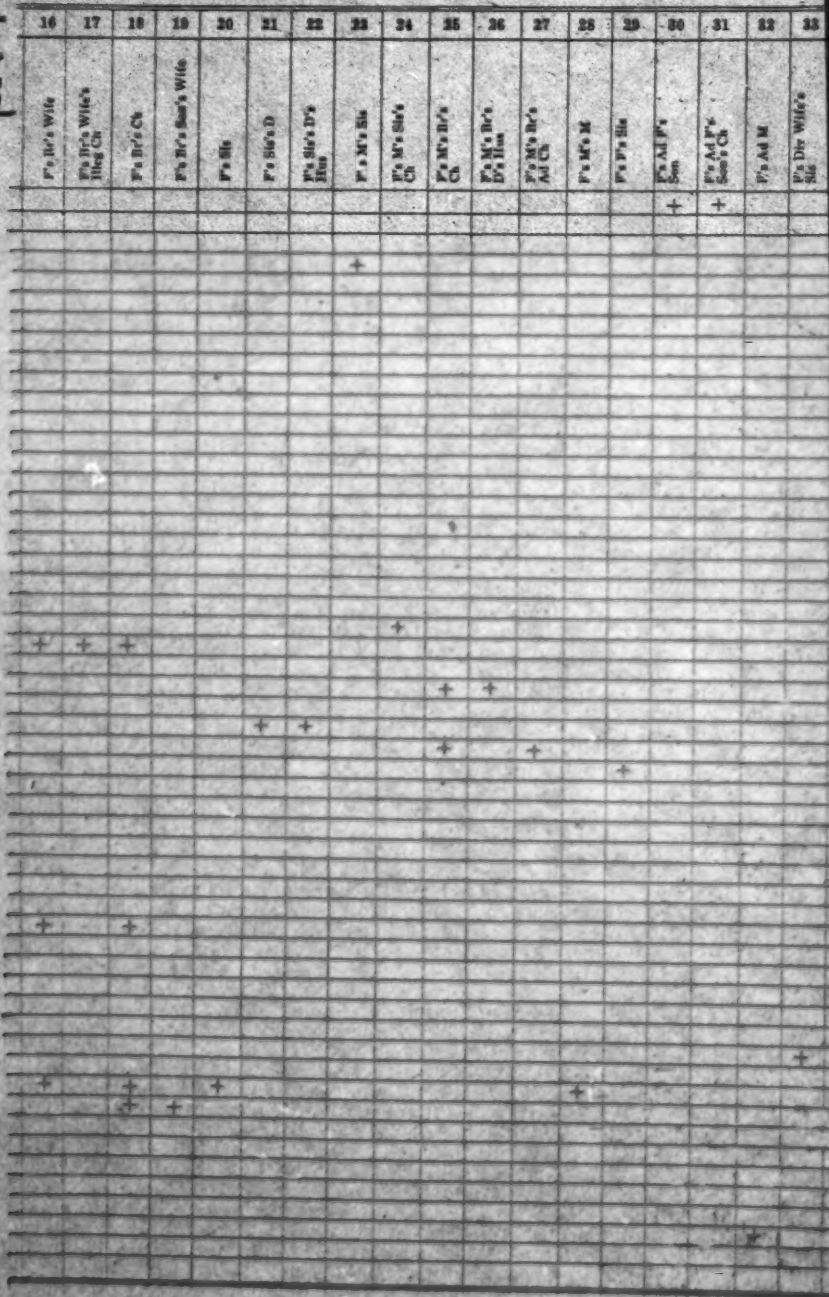
Table 5. Household Composition (7)



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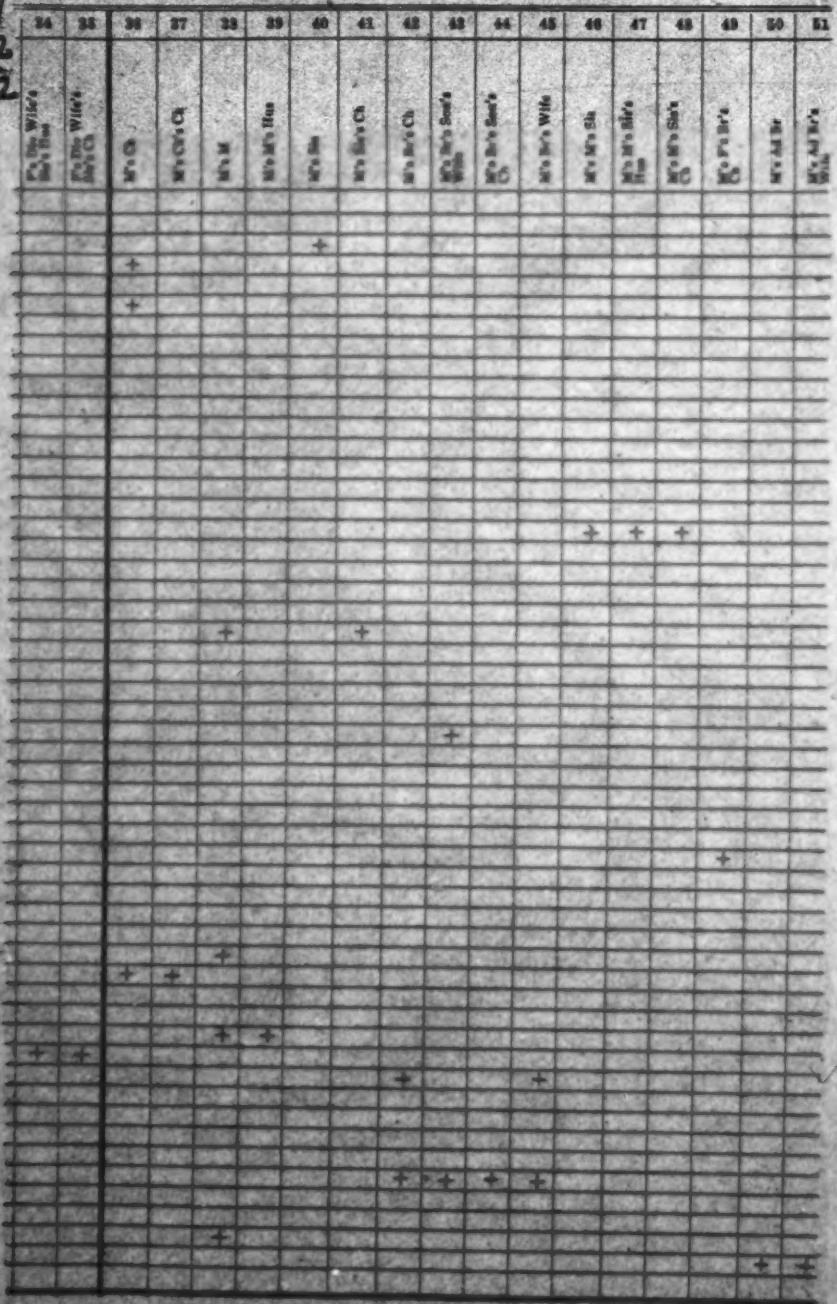

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592 mates. It happens that their father-in-law has, until recently, been the acting Catholic missionary and may then have wished to hold them with him in the new faith. Another daughter and daughter's husband sleep in the same household, but cook and eat with the husband's mother, that is, patrilocally, on another lot.

The widow in household 26 who lives in her deceased husband's house is considered the owner of the house which she has inherited from her husband.

Household 43 is anomalous in being composed of a man and his divorced wife's sister, her husband, and children. This woman and her family resided with her sister and her husband before their divorce, and have since continued to reside there through personal choice. The lot of the father borders on that of the parents of the woman's husband, and the whole household shares a cook house with household 44 next door, in which the mother's brothers are deceased.

The group composing household 49 sleeps in one large house and is considered a complete household, although the cook house is shared with household 50, where there is no senior wife and where the junior wife has only recently come to live.

The mother (household 51) living alone represents a further anomaly. This woman is a spinster of about 35, who has little prospect for marriage. Her parents are deceased, and she lives in a house built for her in Yato by her relatives. She sleeps in this house, but eats in neighboring houses wherever her services are for the moment required. Part of the time she lives with relatives in Ngake.

General observation of the households indicated that their composition remained relatively stable. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, and weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Personal choice may also dictate a new arrangement, especially changes due to conflict with the majority 591 members of the group. There is nothing in Pukapuka resembling the Samoan freedom whereby children, as soon as they walk, change their residence and feeding houses among the larger kindred grouping according to personal whim. In Pukapuka, the residence of children away from the household of the blood parents is accounted for by definite sociological mechanisms, such as adoption or weaning. The only exception noted is a little girl who eats, works, and lives during the day with her blood parents, but sleeps, apparently by preference, with a friend of her own age in the house next to that of her blood parents.

592 The 54 households included in the census have a total membership of
162. 348 people. This gives an average membership of 6.44 persons per household. Omitting the anomalous household in which there is only one member, the average for 53 households, with a total membership of 347, is 6.5 persons per household. The variation in numerical composition of the households is shown below:

Persons per household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	18
Number of households	1	2	9	5	5	7	7	6	4	2	3	1	1	1

592 Households with a numerical membership of 5 to 8 persons account for
597 72.3 percent of the total number of households.

In an attempt to work out the effect of adoptions on the numerical com-
162. position of the household, 32 households were studied in which adoption

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592/597 occurred, both of feeding children (*tama nungai*) and of children "cut off" (*tama kokoti*), either with loss or with gain in membership to the household:

162 In these 32 households there is a total of 48 *tama kokoti* and 10 *tama tungai*, adopted into, or away from a household. In 5 households one child was adopted while another was lost by adoption, the balance being the same. Nine households gained one member each, 4 households gained 2 each, one household gained 3, and another gained 4 members. In 6 households one member was lost by adoption, in 5 households 2 were lost, and in 1 household 3 were lost. The average membership in 32 households after the adoptions have taken place is 6.1 persons. Had adoptions not taken place, the average membership would have been 5.9 persons. It is clear that adoptions work, however slightly, toward bringing the household composition nearer to the average membership for the total number of households.

591 Informants gave patrilocal residence as the rule for marriage. Census data established the pattern, with variations due to personal choices and convenience. In order to learn whether patrilocal residence is also the rule for household groupings of kin outside the biological family, special inquiries were made in conjunction with the census. Patrilocal residence is defined as the residence in a household of persons whose membership is based on a relationship to the male head of the household, provided the household head is himself living patrilocally. Where a husband resides matrilocally, any person living in his and his wife's household, whose membership in that household is based only on relationship to the husband and who is not also related to his wife, is also taken to be living matrilocally. Adopted persons are considered as living in accord with patrilocal rule, save that where the father lives matrilocally the adopted children also live matrilocally, because they are equally related to the mother of the household. Of a total of 348 people coming under the census, 287 (82.4 percent) are living patrilocally. For the material under discussion, the households which include persons residing in accordance with patrilocal rule do not greatly outnumber those which include persons residing matrilocally. But when residence is evaluated in terms of the number of individuals, the rule as to the prevailing tendency toward patrilocal residence is made clear. Accurately to represent the situation, table 5 should indicate individuals and not cases. With this caution, however, it will not be misinterpreted.

591/592 Analysis of the foregoing data shows the importance of distinguishing clearly between matrilocal or patrilocal marital residence on the one hand, and matrilocal or patrilocal kin residence on the other hand. Too often these two types of residence are confused. Marital and kin residence may or may not correspond. What appears to happen in general is that, in a matrilineal society, other things being equal, marital and kin residence tend to follow the same pattern, and vice versa in a patrilineal society. However, a [612] sufficient number of deviations occur to give the tendency in marital residence a different degree of incidence from the tendency in kin residence. This

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591 derives, first, from the importance of the bilateral kin group, which should
592 not be underestimated whether the society is patrilocal or matrilocal; second,
612 from the fact that the people who cause a formal social organization to function are people of flesh and blood, heirs to any number of personal idiosyncrasies, preferences, hates, loves and jealousies, the interrelations of which twist formal rules to serve the logic of life. If a person wishes to live in a particular household—for whatever reason—he does so, whatever his kinship with the family head, and whatever the society rule. Behavior may be labeled as deviation only after the rule has been established by analysis of census material. It is important to remember that marriage invariably joins together two kinship groups in an alliance which is usually cooperative and friendly. Once the fact of this alliance is socially recognized, the way is open for the operation of the largest measure of personal choice in household residence, if personal factors render it impossible to live in accordance with the pattern of the society.

ADOPTION

597 The two types of adoption in Pukapuka are complete adoption (*koloti*,
591 to cut) and partial or feeding adoption (*uungai*, to feed). The adopting
parents are *matua koloti*, the child *tama koloti*. Complete adoption usually
613 involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. The feeding parents are known as *matua uungai*, the child as *tama uungai*. Feeding adoption usually involves change of residence, but never change of descent line. The Pukapukan does not consider that a child receiving village food shares under the agency of a man not his father is adopted by that man. (See pp. 219-220.)

597 The reasons for adoption are both personal and economic. The personal
613 motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his
patrilineal descent line. Economic incentives include the desire of a childless
261 couple for the food shares that an adopted child brings into the household, for taro beds and coconut trees from the child's blood group (in adoption after infancy, a matter of arrangement) or for someone to care for them in their old age. Frequency of adoption and residence variants are indicated by an analysis of material collected in the household census:

597 Of the total of 348 persons of all ages included in the census, 80 (22.9 percent)
162 have at some time been adopted by the *koloti* adoption. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5 percent) are *tama koloti*. Of the remaining 166 persons, 13 (7.8 percent) are *tama uungai* living with
591 their feeding parents. The percentage of *tama uungai* in the total of 209 persons of the generation below mother and father is 6.22. Of the 43 who are completely adopted (*tama koloti*) in this generation level, 18 have continued in residence with their blood parents without going to live with the adopting parents.

The reasons for the non-change of residence of two of the *tama koloti* is their tender age; they are not yet weaned. The adopting mother of one of these infants has meas-

5 Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935)1941 Pukapukans

854 [857] the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time 853 performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always 868 given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

572 The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically [591] never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to per- 854 sonal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite 593 type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly defined as to age. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[3]

[3] In Polynesia, we also strongly suspect, but cannot demonstrate, the fact that the lineage (here a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety received first by the infant from a mother's nursing. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Polynesian lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experiences of the family household. Compare Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 229–33; James B. Pratt, Personality and the Cultural Process (New York, 1927), pp. 151–53.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

facts but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grizzles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Puloru are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Tinomana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later becoms a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.